1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire fein, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *tha'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

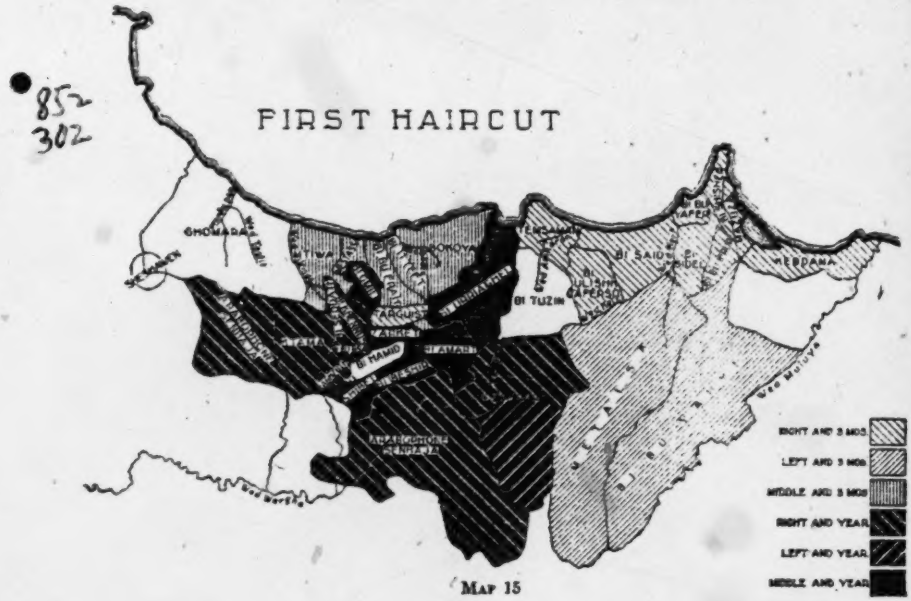
[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *amalu*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

302 *Tribes which shave the head*: Beni Tuzin, some in Targuist, and most of those in the Ghomara.

302 171 In most of Morocco, the scalp lock is worn by the boys up until puberty or marriage, when it is removed and the head shaved thereafter. In the Rif and Senhaja it is worn not only by boys but by grown men. In Beni Tuzin, and among most of the families of Targuist



MAP 15

302 171 and the Ghomara, the head is shaved at the time of the first haircut, and kept shaved thereafter. In Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen and Ikhuanen the men shave their faces; in other regions beards are usually worn.

302 By decree of Abd el Krim, who perhaps wanted to make his followers appear more civilized, the scalp lock was ordered removed in 1924. All Riffians and Senhajans within reach of Abd el Krim's punishing arm shaved them off, for the most part with considerable reluctance, with the exception of the exiled Riffians living in Fez and other places, who retained them. After Abd el Krim's surrender in 1926, many of the Riffians let them grow again, and now wear long scalp locks as before; others let their hair grow in the European style, and still others continue shaving their heads.

171 The Berber scalp lock dates back to Libyan antiquity; representations of it are frequent on Egyptian monuments.[1] A median occipital lock is also worn today in Northern Albania.

[1] O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 133–137.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CIRCUMCISION

Despite the statement of Rohlfs to the contrary,[1] all the peoples of northern Morocco circumcise. This operation, although it may be performed at any time of the year, is usually carried out either in September, when the grapes have been picked, or in mid-winter, when it is considered that the cold will prevent infection. On account of this seasonal occurrence of the rite it is impossible to state definitely at what age it is performed. Nevertheless there is a significant difference in the ages at which it is carried out in different tribes, tribes of the central Rif usually performing it when the child is less than a year old. Three months is considered a felicitous age, but naturally the child is not always three months old at one of the favored times. Among the Arab-speaking peoples of Morocco it is usually performed at the age of seven or eight years. Circumcision is performed in early infancy in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Amart; all the Beni Urriaghel excepting Beni Hadifa, all of the Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Imsdurar, Inhanahan, and Iharshliyen, all the Senhaja Sghir, all the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja excepting Fenassa, Beni Koraa, and Rgheiwa, and all the Ghomara.

In all the rest of the region under consideration circumcision is carried out during the seventh or eighth year. It is interesting, from the point of view of comparison with other peoples, that the Arabs and Shluh circumcise at the age of seven or eight, that the Zenata, as represented by the Beni Znassen, put it off until just before marriage, and that among the Braber three separate customs are found; circumcision at seven or eight years, at the period immediately preceding marriage, and, among some groups, I have been told, failure to circumcise at all.

In regard to the person who performs the operation, here again we meet with a difference of custom. Among the central Riffian tribes the act is done by a preceptor or student who makes a specialty of this work, and who has a regular route which he follows twice a year, in September and in mid-winter. Some groups employ local preceptors; others patronize visiting ones from other tribes. Circumcision is performed by local or resident preceptors in Beni Urriaghel (with the exception of the mountain region), Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Targuist, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, all the Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. It is performed by borrowed or itinerant preceptors among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Ktama.

The routes or spheres or influence of some of the more prominent preceptors are as follows:

Preceptor of Ajdir: Ajdir and the rest of Aith Yusuf u Ali, Beni Bu Ayesh, Beni Abdullah, and sometimes Imrabten; all these being *fifths* of the Beni Urriaghel, excepting Ajdir, which is a village therein.

Preceptor of Iherrushen (from the *bone* of Ulad Alu Fars): Iherrushen, Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ain el Hamara, Ibershliyen, Inhanahan, Bured, and Temjunt; these are *cantons* of the Gzennaya. He likewise officiates for all the Aith Ali and the Jebel Hammam people of the Beni Urriaghel.

Preceptor of Targuist: Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, and Beni Hadifa of the Beni Urriaghel.

[1] Gerhardt Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco*, p. 45.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 875 Preceptor of Taghsuth: Taghsuth and Ktama.

Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iherrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

304 In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialised meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

852 304 The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

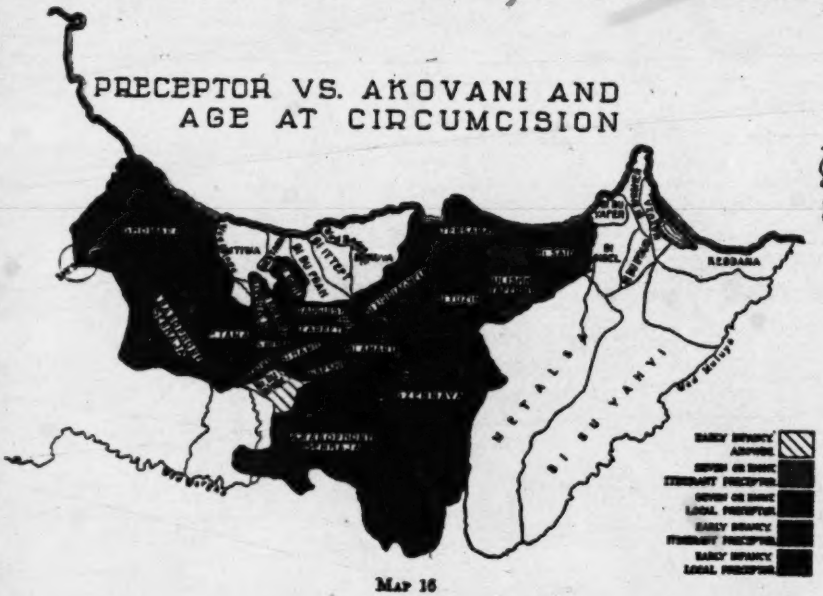
On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for [682] the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iherrushen, as has been previously noted.

304 The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The technique of the *akovani* differs from that of the preceptor. He enters the room in which the child is sitting, without any accompanying students. The child's parents and all men except himself are excluded, but the presence of women is required. Fifteen or twenty of them sit around the room singing throughout the operation. The *akovani* proceeds in the same manner as the preceptor, until the foreskin has been removed. At this point, instead of thrusting the penis into egg-shells, he rubs it with powdered goat manure.

In the process of getting rid of the foreskin, the preceptor and the *akovani* likewise differ. The preceptor puts two eggs in an earthen bowl full of earth, and thrusts the fore-



MAP 16

akin into the earth between the eggs. He hands this to one of the students, who covers the whole with a cloth, and carrying it out into the courtyard gives it to the boy's father or paternal uncle, who takes it out secretly to an unfrequented place and buries it, bowl and all, so that it will never be found. Great care is taken to keep the location of the foreskin secret, and not even the preceptor is trusted with its disposal. The *akovani* does not employ a bowl or eggs, but gives the raw foreskin to the father or paternal uncle, who disposes of it with as great secrecy as in the case of the other technique.

In regard to payment, another difference appears between the preceptor and the *akovani*. The former considers that he is doing a charitable or virtuous work, and never demands payment. If the family is wealthy enough, the father gives him a dollar, a goat, or some article of food. If the preceptor considers the gift a strain on the family resources, he

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gives it back. The *akoeani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound [752] caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [824] [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children [854] when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

846 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

852 553 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among theAit Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

852 304 [429] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mulud, "the day of the feast", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house; the Ait Waryager live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (rahzam) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (ahalhal) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some "clean" place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days.

[434] RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

763 If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse.

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled

the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1